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Development of Political Regime and Economic Growth in Asia(PART 1)

著者	太田 辰幸
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Development of Political Regime and Economic Growth in Asia (PART I)

Tatsuyuki Ota

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The role of the political regime in economic development remains debatable. It has been widely postulated among development economists that the success of East Asian economic development was largely attributable to the authoritarian regime. This hypothesis has not been tested empirically and is still open to considerable criticism.

Very few countries in the developing world have maintained the same political regime since World War II and a majority of developing countries have transformed their political regimes more than once until today. The different levels of economic development or income gaps among developing countries can be generated to a considerable extent by the evolution of the political regime within the country.

The fundamental framework of economic policy and development targets is in essence formulated by the type of political regime, which would produce varied development performances among countries. It is because administrative mechanisms of the government, supporters of the regime or the recipients of development benefits vary according to the type of political regime the country introduces. Development efficiency and distribution of development outputs would also depend on the type of political regime. Thus, *ceteris paribus*, there seems to be a close relationship between economic development and the type of political regime. Needless to say that the political regime is not the only decisive factor in economic development. Various factors such as industrialization strategy, economic policy, trade, technology, foreign investment as well as physical conditions are involved in economic development.

Adam Smith in his famous book “The Wealth of Nations” (1776) had attributed different stages of economic development among countries to national policies, geopolitics and geographical conditions. Needless to say, national policy as well as economic policy are formulated by the government which reflects the interests of the people who support their government.

While economy's major concern is to enlarge the pie, politics is mainly concerned with the distribution of the pie. At the lower stage of development, the government struggles to enlarge the pie since the pie is small in size, but as economic development brings forth a larger pie the problem of distribution becomes increasingly important. The distribution of the pie or output is mainly determined by the type of government or political regime. Economic growth will therefore depend on how resources are distributed and how effectively they are used. In this sense the type of political regime can be an important factor in determining economic growth.

Since Asian countries have achieved remarkable economic development, several hypotheses were postulated as to the cause of the success. About five years ago one predominant hypothesis among development economists was that the authoritarian regime has played a major role in Asian economic development. This hypothesis seems to have only a limited applicability. The general application of this hypothesis is questionable and lacking in empirical studies. Since this hypothesis needs to be analyzed empirically and thoroughly, an attempt is made in this paper to investigate empirically the relationship between economic development and the type of political regime in East Asia.

I. Methodology

Basically there are three types of political regime; democracy, authoritarian regime and totalitarian regime. When an authoritarian regime is supported by a distinctively unified ideology, the regime is called totalitarian. These three different types of regime are "ideal type" models and no country fits perfectly one of these types in its entirety. Most actual political regimes are often, in fact, varied types of these three regimes. For example democratic regime ranges from an immature to a mature type. The least democratic regime can be called either authoritarian or totalitarian. Thus the type of political regime can be classified by maturity level of democracy. The more immature the democratic regime will be, the more authoritarian it will become ⁽¹⁾. Here we use the democratization index constructed by Gastil (1990) and Bollen (1990) as shown by Table-1 to categorize two main regimes, i.e., democracy and authoritarian regime ⁽²⁾. The higher democratization index (henceforth DI) indicates a democratic regime while the lower index indicates an authoritarian regime. By classifying each into two regimes, four types of political regime will be defined as follows based on the DI level. That is, the regime with DI between 75 and 100 is democracy, and the regime between 50 and 75 is semi-democracy, while the regime with DI between 25 and 50 is semi-authoritarian, and the regime with DI between 0 and 25 is authoritarian.

The Democratization index of three years ; 1965, 1978 and 1988 for each country is used as representative

of the respective decades for the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Thus the change in DI could be interpreted as the long-term transformation of the political regime.

Table -1 Democracy and Democratization Index in Asia

	Political rights		Civil liberties		Freedom Rating		Maturity of Democracy	
	1978	1988	1978	1988	1978	1988	1960	1965
NIES countries								
Korea	5	2	5	3	10	5	51.7	53
Taiwan	5	5	4	3	9	8	-	22.8
Singapore	5	4	5	5	10	9	81.2	76.9
ASEAN countries								
Thailand	6	3	4	3	10	6	33.1	17.3
Malaysia	3	4	3	5	6	9	83.5	80.3
Indonesia	5	5	5	5	10	10	20.3	9.8
Philippines	5	2	5	3	10	5	93	92.6
Brunei	6	6	5	6	11	12	-	-
South Asian countries								
India	2	2	2	3	4	5	93.6	91.2
Pakistan	6	3	5	3	11	6	40	62.5
Bangladesh	4	4	4	5	8	9	-	-
Sri Lanka	2	3	3	4	5	7	94	85.9
Butan	4	5	4	5	8	10	-	-
Myanmar	7	7	6	6	13	13	63.4	-
Nepal	6	3	5	4	11	7	39.7	29.2
Maldives	5	5	5	6	10	11	-	-
Economies in transition (CPEs)								
Cambodia	7	7	7	7	14	14	38.6	36.3
Laos	7	6	7	6	14	12	56.6	42.8
Vietnam	7	6	7	7	14	13	*31.2	33.1
Mongolia	7	7	7	7	14	14	22.1	16.2
China	6	6	6	6	12	12	22.6	16.4
N.Korea	7	7	7	7	14	14	21	21
Pacific Islands countries								
Papua New Guinea	2	2	2	3	4	5	-	-
Fiji	2	5	2	4	4	9	-	-
Kiribati	2	1	2	2	4	3	-	-
Nauru	2	2	2	2	4	4	-	-
Tonga	5	5	3	3	8	8	-	-
Vanuatu	3	2	3	4	6	6	-	-
Samoa	4	4	2	3	6	7	-	-
Reference								
Japan	2	1	1	1	3	2	99.3	99.8
United States	1	1	1	1	2	2	94.6	92.4
New Zealand	1	1	1	1	2	2	100	100
Australia	1	1	1	1	2	2	100	99.9

Notes : Gastil's criteria of democracy is based on political right and civil liberties as indicated below.

- (1) Political right mainly indicates the right to vote representatives who take part in public decision making for people who elected representatives.
- (2) Civil liberties indicate basic human liberties such as freedom of speech, freedom of expression (demonstration, labor union, organization of political party, etc.), free from unlawful imprisonment and political terror, fair and equal application of law.
- (3) Above political right and civil liberties are evaluated in each country and ranked from 1 to 7. The added total value of each figure ranging from 2 to 14 indicates the level of democracy. The smaller number suggests higher level of democracy and the larger indicates lower level of democracy or in other words higher level of authoritarian regime. Thus the number 2 shows maximum degree of democratization while 14 shows minimum degree of democratization, i.e., authoritarian regime.
- Above figures of political rights, civil liberties and freedom rating are derived from Gastil(1990).
- (4) Maturity of democracy is evaluated in terms of figures from 0 to 100 in respective country in Asia by Bollen. The larger figures closer to 100 indicate more mature democracy. Bollen(1990).

Source: Data based on Gastil(1990) and Bollen(1990).

Four types of political regime in terms of democratization index as indicated above will be shown in relation to the three groups of economic growth rate ; high growth, medium growth and low growth in the Table-2. Here we look at the development of political regime in sixteen Asian countries during the three-decade period from the 1960s to the 1980s for the purpose of investigating transformation of political regime in relation to economic growth.

Table -2 Asian Political Regime and Economic Growth : 1960s – 1980s

Type of Regime	Growth rate in the 1960s			Total	Growth rate in the 1970s			Total	Growth rate in the 1970s			Total
	High	Medium	Low		High	Medium	Low		High	Medium	Low	
Democracy	Singapore Malaysia	Philippines Sri Lanka	India	5			India Sri Lanka	2	Korea	India	Philippines	3
Semi-Democracy	Korea Pakistan		Bangladesh Myanmar	4	Malaysia			1	Taiwan Thailand	Nepal Pakistan	Sri Lanka	5
Semi-authoritarian			Nepal	1	Korea Taiwan Singapore Thailand India	Philippines Bangladesh		7		Singapore Malaysia Indonesia	Bangladesh	4
Authoritarian	Taiwan Thailand N.Korea	China	Indonesia Mongolia	6		Pakistan Myanmar Mongolia China N.Korea	Nepal	6	China	Mongolia	Myanmar N.Korea	4
Total	7	3	6	16	6	7	3	16	4	7	4	16

Notes: High growth: annual average rate of growth is over 6.5%. Medium growth: annual average rate of growth is between 4.5 to 6.5%. Low growth: annual average rate of growth is less than 4.5%. Total: number of countries.

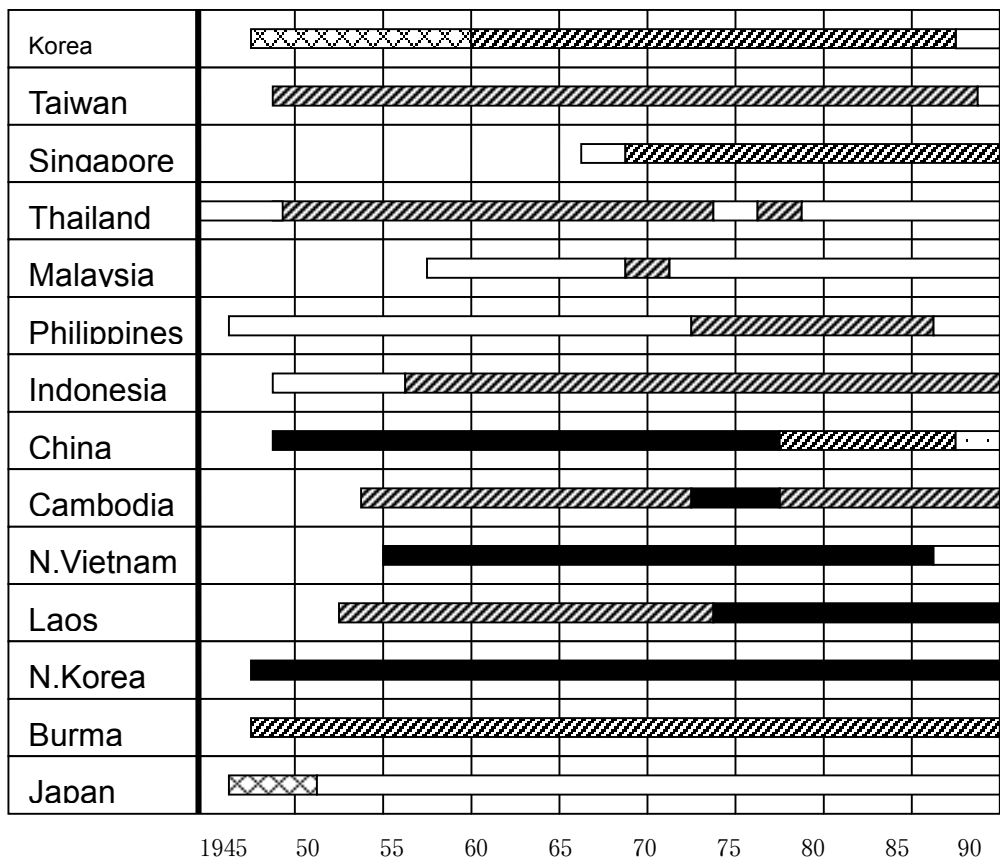
Source: Based on data from Gastil (1990), Bollen (1990), Asian Development Bank, Key Indicators of Developing Asian and Pacific Countries, various issues, and World Bank, World Development Report, various issues.

II. Transformation of Political Regime in Asia since WWII

Most Asian countries have undergone different regimes more than once since WWII; some countries shifting from democracy to authoritarian regime, others from authoritarian regime to democracy. Even some of fundamental characters of totalitarian regimes have changed. Only a limited number of countries in Asia such as India, Sri Lanka, Myanmar and North Korea have maintained the same political regime since WWII.

Fig.- 1 shows some examples of regime transformation in Asia.

Figure -1 Transformation of Political Regime in Asia since WW II



Note:

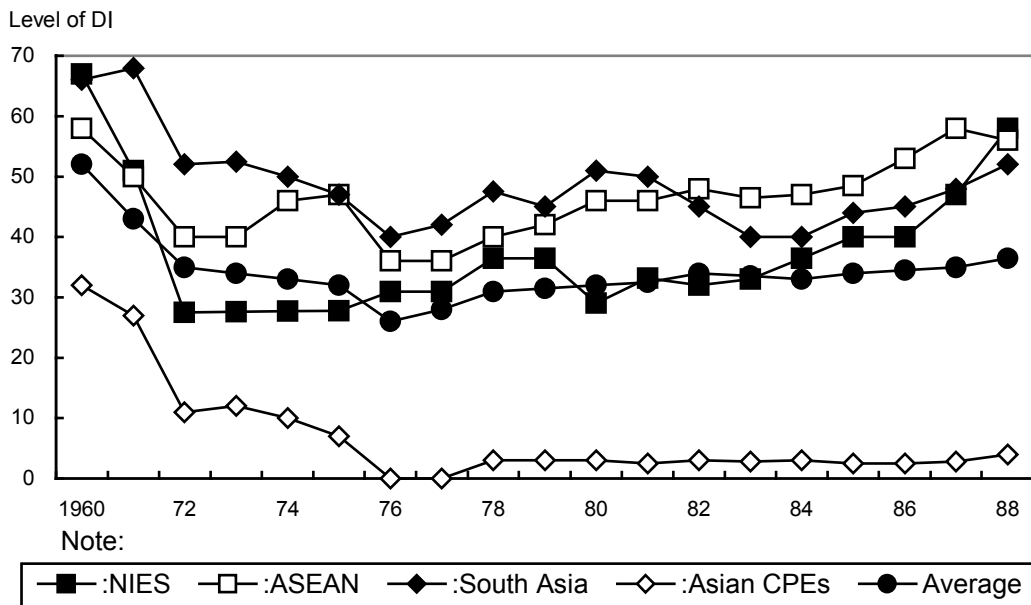
Democracy	:		Partially Democracy	:	
Authoritarian regime:			Totalitarian Regime (Marxist):		
Totalitarian Regime (Revisionist):					

Source: Based on Ichimura=Morley (1993), p.27 and Gasiorowski (1990), p.120

As a general trend since 1960, Asian political regimes have gradually developed to be democratic with occasional setbacks to the authoritarian regime. Democratization processes in developing countries have not been smooth, often accompanied by drawbacks and upheavals, which are characteristic of the democratization process in most developing countries (Huntington, 1984)⁽³⁾. In the early 1960s the democratization index for Asia was at its peak. This higher democratization index in the early 1960s may largely be due to the fact that democratic reforms were introduced after independence by the administration.

This democratic movement may be called the first Asian wave of democratization. However this trend was on gradual decline toward the mid 1970s when the DI index hit the bottom. Since then, democratization index began to steadily rise until the late 1980s. This democratization trend can be named the second wave of democratization. This Asian trend seems to coincide with that of world developing countries. The share of developing countries under democratic regime increased from 19 % (17 countries out of 88) in 1973 to 41 % (38 countries out of 93) in 1989 ⁽⁴⁾. These first and second waves of democratization are found justifiably to correspond respectively to Huntington's second and third waves of world-wide democratization (Huntington, 1984) (Fig. - 2). The basic difference between the first and second wave of Asian democratization is that the necessary conditions for democracy were almost non- existent for the first wave while some conditions for democratization were emerging for the second wave ⁽⁵⁾.

Figure -2 Democratization Trend in Asia



Source: Based on data from Table-1 and Table-3

Democratic reforms introduced during the Asian first wave by inexperienced governments after independence were only nominal and doomed to failure due to their immature governance. A solid democracy will not be institutionally established unless a certain level of economic development accompanied by certain educational attainment and political awareness of the people are achieved. After the

collapse of democratization reforms, the democratic trend dwindled causing a relapse into the authoritarian regime.

A stable government was sought in order to provide the conditions for economic growth. Thus authoritarian regimes were brought in to enable an overall higher rate of economic growth in the 1970s. However, pressure had begun to mount upon the authoritarian regime yet incapable of complying with the growing demand for democratization in accordance with rising income in Asia. As a result, most authoritarian regimes began to fade and the democratization movement resumed. In the 1980s at the time of second wave of democratization democratic reforms were promoted in many Asian developing countries some of which had successfully shifted to stable democracy. This Asian democratization trend is, by and large, shared by most developing countries except in Africa ⁽⁶⁾. Nevertheless the 1990s witnessed a gradual democratization movement on the rise among African countries where democratization had been least developed in the world (Oda, 1992).

III. Political Regime and Economic Performance in Asia: 1960s – 1980s

1. Four political regimes compared by growth performance over three decades

Table-2 is a summary classification of four types of political regimes associated with three levels of economic growth rate ; high growth, medium growth and low growth for sixteen Asian countries. Here we assume that high growth economies are those countries that have achieved growth rates of over 6.5% during the decade, medium growth economies are those countries with growth rates of between 4.5% and 6.5% and low growth economies are countries with growth rates below 4.5%.

Looking at transformation of political regime during the three-decade periods the number of democratic countries in the 1960s continued to decrease until the mid 1970s when the level of democratization hit the bottom. Since then the level of democratization has gradually begun to rise ⁽⁷⁾. This Asian trend of political regime transformation seems to be associated with varying rates of economic growth in this period. During the 1960s when the first wave of Asian democratization was prevailing, over half (i.e., Singapore, Malaysia, Korea and Pakistan) out of seven high-growth economies were democratic or semi-democratic, whereas in the 1970s only one high-growth economy (Malaysia) was democratic (in fact, semi-democratic). There were altogether five semi-authoritarian high-growth countries (Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Thailand and Indonesia) in this period. Taking into account both high and medium growth economies, an overall shift to an authoritarian regime is rather distinct toward the 1970s. In the 1970s twelve (75%) authoritarian and semi-authoritarian countries achieved high or medium economic growth performance while in the 1960s only four

countries (25%) under authoritarian or semi-authoritarian regimes had recorded high or medium growth performances. In the 1980s, however, six democratic and semi-democratic countries (38%) achieved either high growth or medium growth. Above all, three high-growth economies under semi-authoritarian regimes (Korea, Taiwan and Thailand) in the 1970s became democratic or semi-democratic maintaining high-growth performance in the 1980s. The only authoritarian regime which achieved high-growth performance in the 1980s was China. Her high-growth performance was, in fact, largely due to her reform-and-open economic policy introduced in 1979. The number of democratic and semi-democratic countries increased from three in the 1970s to eight (50%) in the 1980s, whereas the number of authoritarian and semi-authoritarian regimes decreased from thirteen (81%) in the 1970s to seven (44%) in the 1980 (Table-2).

During the three-decade period the average DI (democratization index) of high-growth economies varied between 40 and 52 that were in the range of semi-authoritarian and semi-democratic regime (Table-3). When we investigate the relationship between DI and economic growth performance, we find that high growth was achieved in the country-groups with the average DI around 50 (except for the 1970s). During the 1970s when the level of DI was at the lowest, high growth was achieved by the country groups with an average DI of 40. For each decade of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, high growth economy shows a democratization index indicative of semi-authoritarian or semi-democratic regimes.

Table -3 Average Level of Democratization by Growth Rate in Asia

Growth Type	1960s	1970s	1980s
High Growth (number of countries)	48 (7)	40 (6)	52 (4)
Medium Growth (number of countries)	65 (3)	19 (3)	56 (7)
Low Growth (number of countries)	47 (6)	61 (7)	37 (4)

Note: High growth indicates rates of growth over 6.5%. Medium growth indicates rates between 4.5 and 6.5%. Low growth rates are lower than 4.5%.

Source: Based on Gastil(1990) and Bollen(1990). Asian Development Bank, Key Indicators of Developing Asian and Pacific Countries, various issues. World Bank, World Development Report, various issues. Taiwan Statistical Data Book, various issues.

Table -4 Level of Democratic Maturity and Economic Growth in Asia

	Index of Democratic Maturity				Rate of Economic Growth(%)			Per Capital Income(US\$)		
	1960	1965	1978	1988	1960-70	1971-80	1981-90	1965	1978	1988
NIES countries										
Korea	52	53	33	75	8.6	9	9.9	120	1160	3530
Taiwan	n.a	23	42	50	9.8	9.3	8.5	200	1400	6167
Singapore	81	77	33	42	8.8	7.9	6.3	450	3260	9100
ASEAN countries										
Thailand	33	17	33	67	8.2	7.9	7.8	120	490	1000
Malaysia	84	80	66	42	6.5	7.8	5.2	260	1090	1870
Indonesia	20	10	33	33	3.9	7.7	5.5	85	360	430
Philippines	93	93	33	75	5.1	6	1	150	510	630
South Asian countries										
India	94	91	83	75	3.4	3.7	5.8	90	180	330
Pakistan	40	63	25	67	6.7	5.2	6.2	85	230	350
Bangladesh	n.a	70	50	42	3.6	5.8	4.1	60	90	170
Sri Lanka	94	86	75	58	4.6	4.3	3.9	140	190	420
Myanmar	63	65	8	8	2.6	4.7	0.1	65	150	200
Nepal	40	29	25	58	2.5	3.2	4.9	65	120	170
Asian CPEs										
Cambodia	39	36	0	0				120	n.a	n.a
Laos	57	43	0	17				65	90	180
Vietnam	31	33	0	8				n.a	170	n.a
Mongolia	22	16	0	0	2.8	6	5.6	n.a	n.a	n.a
China	23	16	17	17	5.2	5.8	9.5	n.a	n.a	n.a
N.Korea	21	21	0	0	7.8	6.2	-	n.a	n.a	n.a
Average	52.2	48.5	30.9	38.6	5.6	6.28	-	183.3	632.7	1753.4
Average (except for N.Korea)	54.1	50.1	32.7	40.8	5.4	6.3	5.6	183.3	632.7	1753.4

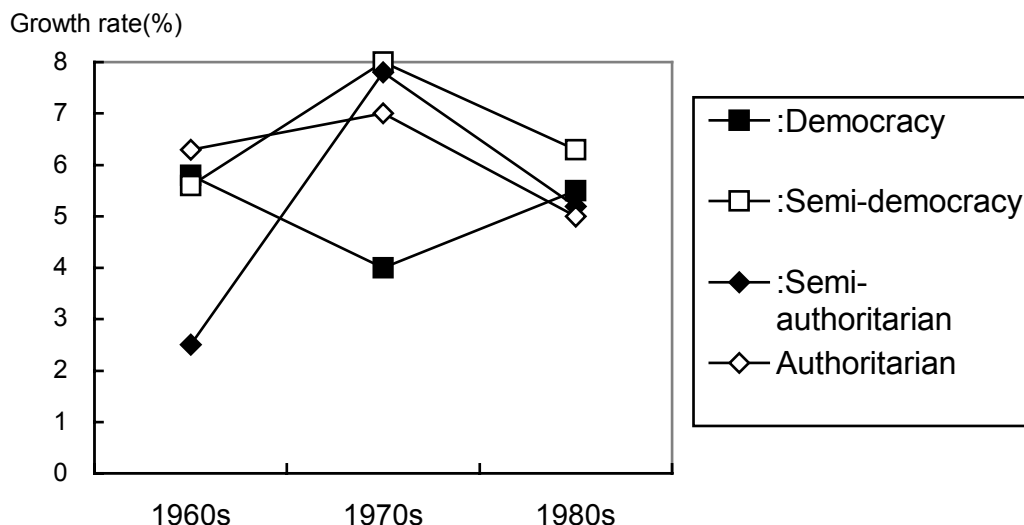
Source: Asian Development Bank, Key Indicators of Developing Asian and Pacific Countries, various issues. World Bank, World Development Report, various issues. Taiwan Statistical Data Book, various issues. Gastil (1990). Bollen(1990).

2. Transformation of political regime and growth performance

Now let us look into the past trend of transformation of political regime and subsequent economic performance over three decades from the 1960s to the 1980s. It has been postulated that Asian high economic growth was made possible by the authoritarian regime and that the democratic regime had not been conducive to economic growth. Fig.- 3 seems to support this contention. This hypothesis seems to suggest that high growth was achieved by the governments that had turned more authoritarian. However, this was not the case in Asia. Those countries that maintained high growth in the 1970s onward had been already authoritarian since the 1960s (Table- 2, & - 4)

No country (out of sixteen) achieved a high growth rate by shifting to the authoritarian regime ⁽⁸⁾. On the contrary, some countries, such as Pakistan (from the 1960s to the 1970s) and Malaysia (from the 1970s to the 1980s) suffered a decline in growth rate by shifting to an author-itarian regime. High-growth economies in the 1970s, for example, were those which had been already high in the 1960s. Singapore, Malaysia and Korea maintained high growth by shifting from democracy to the authoritarian regime, while Taiwan and Thailand sustained high growth by shifting from the authoritarian to the semi-authoritarian regime (Table - 2).

Figure -3 Economic Growth by Type of Political Regime in Asia



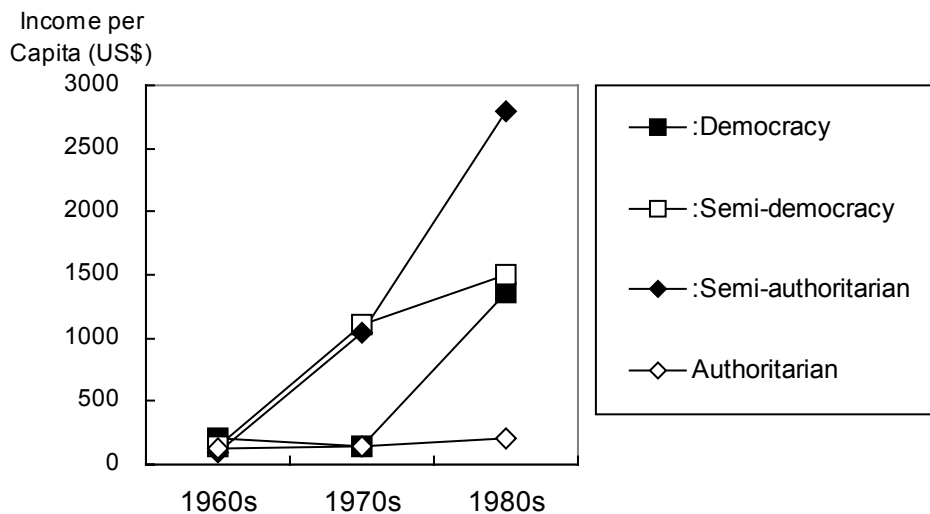
Source: Based on data from Table-3

High growth was achieved not by shifting to a more authoritarian regime but by shifting to a little more democratic regime than before. What actually did happen in Asia was that many Asian countries had decelerated rather than accelerated growth under more authoritarian regimes. Only a handful of countries such as Bangladesh and Myanmar accelerated growth from low growth to medium growth under the authoritarian regime from the 1960s to 1970s. In the 1960s there were five countries under democratic regime all of which had slowed growth from the 1960s to the 1970s or from the 1970s to the 1980s, and none of them had accelerated growth from low growth to medium or from medium to high growth. India was an exception. Only India accelerated growth from low to medium growth during the two-decade period (1970s - 1980s). This is not unfounded. India had gradually deregulated her protective and inward-oriented industrial policy by introducing more liberalized strategy. Actually it was only India of all sixteen sample countries that had successfully maintained democracy from the 1960s and onwards. However in the 1980s when the average level of DI rose, the number of high-growth countries decreased. Only China succeeded in accelerating economic growth in the 1980s under the authoritarian regime. Her success owes largely to the reform-and-open policy led by Mr. Deng Xiaoping in the late 1970s. Three countries (Taiwan, Thailand and Korea) which had continued to achieve high growth and high income over the three decades became more democratic toward the late 1980s.

3.Comparison of Per Capita Income by Type of Political Regime

A wide range of economic growth rates among Asian countries over the three decades under four different types of political regime had gradually brought forth a widening income gap among four regimes (Fig.- 4). At the beginning (1965) there was hardly any income gap among the four different political regimes as shown in the Fig. - 4 and Table-4, but in 1978 this income gap between high income group (semi-democratic and semi-authoritarian regimes) and low income group (democracy and authoritarian regimes) had increased quite substantially. In 1988 the income gap had widened to a significant degree where the highest per capita income (about US\$3000.-) of semi-authoritarian regime was more than twice as large as that of semi-democracy or democracy regime. Singapore under the semi-authoritarian regime in the 1980s had the highest income in Asian developing countries (Table- 4).

Figure -4 Income Level by Type of Political Regime

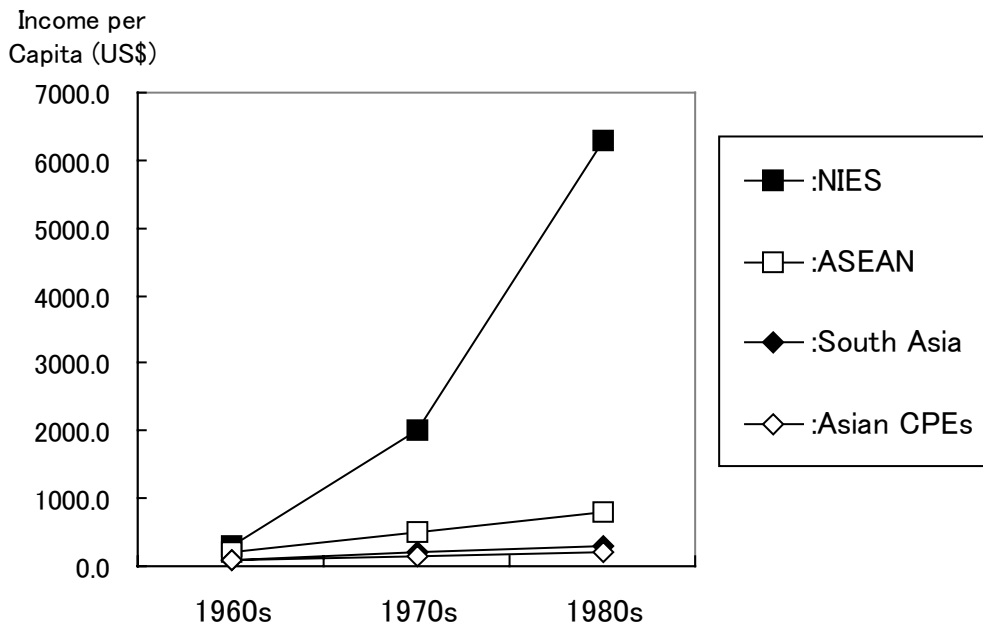


Source: Based on data from Table-3

The authoritarian regime had, on average, the lowest per capita income (about US\$300.-) up to the 1980s. Here China, Mongolia, North Korea were not included in this regime because of non-availability of data. Investigation into comparison of per capita income by region/economy, however, revealed that Asian NIES had in the 1980s achieved the highest per capita income (US\$6300.-) in Asia, followed by ASEAN (US\$1000.-) and then South Asia the DI of which remained at the highest among Asian region/group (Fig.-5) ⁽⁹⁾. Asian centrally planned economies' (henceforth CPEs') per capita income was at the lowest level. If we

except the Asian CPEs, the democracy index for NIES had been at its lowest level until the late 1980s when Korea and Taiwan introduced democratic systems (such as popular vote for presidential election in late 1980s) as the income level increased. The highest rates of economic growth scored by NIES among the four Asian regions/economies throughout the entire three decades were produced by the regime with the lower DI (democratization index) corresponding to the authoritarian (Table-4).

Figure -5 Trend of Per Capita Income in Asian Economies



Source: Based on data from Table-3

While Singapore's rate of growth gradually decreased from high growth in the 1960s to medium growth in the 1980s as her democratic regime in the 1960s transformed into semi-authoritarian regime in the 70s and 80s, Korea maintained its high growth during the three decades under the regime which transformed from the semi-democratic in the 1960s then into the semi-authoritarian in the 1970s and turned into the democratic regime in the 1980s (Table-4).

(To be continued)

Notes :

1. According to Diamond=Linz=Lipset, there exist two types of political regime; democracy and non-democracy. As

democratic regime becomes less democratic, the regime tends to become authoritarian. Diamond =Linz =Lipset (1989).

2. Democracy index originally developed by Gastil(1990) was converted here into a scale of 100. Gastil's criteria of democracy is based on political right and civil liberty.

(1) Political right : the right to vote representative who takes part in public decision making for the people.

(2) Civil liberties: Basic human liberty such as Freedom of speech, Freedom of expression (demonstration, labor union movement, political party organization, etc.), free from unlawful imprisonment and political terror, fair and equal application of law.

These two basic right and liberties are evaluated in each country and ranked from 1 to 7. The added total of each figure (between 2 and 14) indicates the level of democracy. The smaller number suggests higher level of democracy and the larger indicates lower level of democracy or in other words higher level of authoritarian regime.

Thus figure 2 shows perfect democracy while 14 indicates pure authoritarian regime. Bollen's definition of democracy is quite similar to Gastil's.

3. According to Huntington, three waves of world democratization can be observed as follows.

First wave of Democratization : 1828 (first in US) ~ 1926 (mainly US and Europe).

Second wave of Democratization: 1945 ~ 1962.

Third wave of Democratization : From the mid 1970s until today. Huntington (1991).

4. Political regimes in developing countries in the world have increasingly shifted to democracy as indicated in the table below. During the past three decades, developing countries not only made increasing use of democratic forms, such as competitive elections, but also expanded civil and political liberties. According to Lindenberg=Devarajan, the proportion of developing countries holding competitive democratic elections for top officials increased from 19% (of 93 countries) to 41% between 1973 and 1989. At the same time the number of countries scoring medium or high on Gastil's index of political and civil liberties increased from 57 to 68%. Lindenberg=Devarajan (1993).

Transformation of Political Regimes in Developing Countries: 1973-1989

<u>Regions</u>	<u>1973</u>		<u>1980</u>		<u>1989</u>	
	<u>Demo.</u>	<u>Non-Demo.</u>	<u>Demo.</u>	<u>Non-Demo</u>	<u>Demo.</u>	<u>Non-Demo</u>
Latin America	6	15	9	14	16	7
Africa	3	35	7	31	5	33
Middle East	3	9	4	8	5	7
Asia	5	9	8	8	10	6
<u>Europe</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	17	71	30	63	38	55
(%)	19 %	81 %	33 %	67 %	41 %	59 %

Notes: Demo. = Democracy, Non-demo.= Non-democracy

Source: Lindenberg=Devarajan (1993)

5.The followings are quoted as necessary conditions for democratization defined by Weber, Lipset, Liu and Gasiorowski.

- (1) Capitalistic industrialization creates middle class (burgher) which acted as a catalyst for democratization. Max Weber(1909).
- (2) Industrialization, urbanization, high educational standard, economic development. Lipset(1959).
- (3) Industrialization, Improved transport and communication, migration, urbanization, internationalization. Liu (1993), Gasiorowski(1990).

Our variables introduced in the estimation equation are derived as follows.

Per capita income is a surrogate for economic development. Level of democracy is equal to DI. Dummy variables are used for Political freedom, Civil liberty and Market economy.

6.Sorensen categorizes three types of authoritarian systems based on growth and welfare criteria, i.e., (1) authoritarian developmentalist regime, (2) authoritarian growth regime and (3) authoritarian state elite enrichment regime.

According to him, the government of authoritarian developmentalist regime is reform oriented and enjoys a high degree of autonomy from vested elite interests. Its capability of promoting growth and welfare is a distinctive feature. The second type of authoritarian growth regime is an elite-dominated government that promotes growth but not welfare. The third type of authoritarian state elite enrichment regime aims to promote neither growth nor welfare, placing an emphasis rather on enrichment of the elite. The country example for each category are as follows.

First type : Authoritarian developmentalist regime --- Taiwan, Korea

Second type : Authoritarian growth regime --- Brazil under military rule

Third type : Authoritarian state elite enrichment regime --- Zaire under Mobutu.

Sorensen (1993), pp.75- 79.

7.According to Barro the democratization index for the world (excluding Africa) was at its peak (0.69) in 1960, which later gradually began to decline and hit the bottom (0.54) in 1975. Then it started to rise again as economic development proceeds in developing countries until it reached 0.68 in the early 1990s (1990-92). Barro (1994).

8.Only Indonesia is an exceptional case. Indonesia which had transformed political regime from authoritarian in the 1960s to semi-authoritarian regime in the 1970s had accelerated growth from low growth to high growth during two decades (1960s - 1970s).

9.High democracy index of the South Asia comes from their British colonial tradition. The South Asian countries introduced democratic institutions after they became independent.

Bibliography will be presented in the No.59 issue.

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